

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MCT-01 ACDA-10 VOE-00 SCA-01 /081 W

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R 041215Z MAR 77

FM AMCONSUL TURIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0680

AMEMBASSY ROME

INFO USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT

SUBJ: EUROPE BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND CARTER AS SEEN BY

ARRIGO LEVI OF LA STAMPA

1. SUMMARY. LEADING ITALIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMENTATOR, LA STAMPA EDITOR ARRIGO LEVI, TOLD MARCH 3 ROTARY LUNCHEON AUDIENCE THAT U.S. POLICY SHIFT TOWARD MORAL SUPPORT OF DISSIDENTS AROUND THE WORLD CONTAINS RISKS FOR WEST EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES. CURRENT FORWARD-MOVING U.S. POLICY COULD WELL LEAD TO REPRESSIVE REACTIONS IN EAST, PARTICULARLY GIVEN MORAL APPROACH OF NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION (IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS PRAGMATIC APPROACH) AND INEXORABLE AGING OF CURRENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP. LEVI IMPLIED HIS SUPPORT FOR CURRENT U.S. POLICY AND STRESSED HIS OPTIMISM THAT WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD AND COULD STRENGTHEN ITS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO MEET THE CHALLENGES AHEAD. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS USUAL RAPID-FIRE, ENGAGINA AND BRILLIANT MANNER, LA STAMPA NEWSPAPER EDITOR ARRIGO LEVI HELD TURIN ROTARY LUNCHEON AUDIENCE ALMOST SPELL-BOUND WITH HIS PRESENTA-  
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TION ON: "EUROPE BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND CARTER." WHILE SOUNDING OVERALL OPTIMISTIC NOTE, LEVI CONCLUDED THAT "WESTERN DEMOCRATIC INDUSTRIALIZED EUROPE" WILL NOT ESCAPE FROM SERIOUS EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE THAT ARE BOUND TO OCCUR WITHIN NEXT EIGHT YEARS (CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AS HE FORESAW IT). WITH DISTENSION ON THE RISE IN EASTERN (PLS READ DISSENSION)

EUROPE, AND WITH RIGID REPRESSION NO DOUBT TO FOLLOW (WITNESS, LEVI UNDERLINED, ONLY TWO "EUROPEAN WARS" IN PAST 30 YEARS -- HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA), AND WITH POLICIES, EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES IN U.S. AND USSR NOT UNDER WEST EUROPEAN CONTROL, WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD LOOK TO WHAT IT CAN CONTROL AND STRENGTHEN ITS OWN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO WEATHER THE STORMS AHEAD.

3. ON CARTER SIDE OF HIS EQUATION, LEVI SAID MOST IMPORTANT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT SINCE JAN. 20 HAS BEEN OPENING OF SUPPORT TOWARD DISSIDENTS AROUND THE WORLD AND THE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES THIS POLICY BRINGS TO EUROPE.

A. LEVI SAID THIS "CARTER/ BRZEZINSKI SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY" ACTUALLY RESULTED IN A POLICY SIMILAR TO THAT OF USSR SUPPORTING NATIONAL/POLITICAL COEXISTENCE, BUT OPPOSING IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE# HOWEVER, U.S. MORAL SUPPORT FOR DISSENTERS IN EASTERN EUROPE WAS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN SOVIET SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST IN THE WEST GIVEN VERY NATURE OF DISSENTIONIN WEST AND ALSO ABSENCE OF REPRESSION AND REVERSE OF STORY IN SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. MOREOVER, EAST IS CAUGHT IN DILEMMA OF ITS OWN MAKING GIVEN EXPULSION OF DISSENTERS AND ATTRACTIVENESS AND INTELLIGENCE OF THIS GROUP OUTSIDE EAST AND ITS ROLE AS A CONTINUING POLE OF ATTRACTION FOR DISSENTERS STILL WITHIN EAST OR THOSE YET TO BE DEVELOPED.

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B. LEVI ALSO NOTED A SIMILAR POLICY COULD BE FOUND IS LESS-WELL-KNOWN "FIRST SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" WHICH ESPOUSED A POLICY OF DETENTE AND ALSO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE EAST. AS THIS POLICY TOOK HOLD, HOWEVER, AND AS A RESULT OF THE LEVEL OF DISSENT ROSE IN EAST, "SECOND SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" WAS FORMULATED GIVEN RECOGNITION THAT U.S. COULD NOT CONTROL EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RAPID BUILD-UP OF LEVEL OF DISSENSION IN EAST COULD LEAD TO DAMAGE AND BREAKDOWN IN WEST EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES AND ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

C. CARTER/BRZEZINSKI POLICY IS AGAIN A POLICY OF MOVEMENT, BUT LEVI STRESSED IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE "COLOSSAL" EFFORTS OF KISSINGER IN RAPPROCHEMENT WITH USSR AND ORCHESTRATING ENTRY OF CHINA AS MAJOR STABILIZING FORCE IN BALANCE OF POWER. FROM THIS STABLE BASE, U.S. POLICY WAS ABLE TO MOVE ON ITS CURRENT COURSE.

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TRSE-00 MCT-01 ACDA-10 VOE-00 SCA-01 /081 W  
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R 041230Z MAR 77  
FM AMCONSUL TURIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0681  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
INFO USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION EC

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.... ON ITS CURRENT COURSE.

4. LEVI CONCLUDED THAT EUROPE, BOTH EAST AND WEST, IS GOING THROUGH EVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, NEAR-TERM RESULTS OF WHICH HE PREDICTED PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE SEEN IN HIS GENERATION. EUROPE IS STILL CENTER-STAGE FOR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS, AND THE RESOLUTION OF THE EXTERNAL PROBLEMS OF WESTERN EUROPE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE EAST ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE DOMESTIC QUESTIONS FACING EACH EUROPEAN COUNTRY. GIVEN AGING SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND MORAL APPROACH OF CARTER PRESUMABLY OVER NEXT EIGHT YEARS (IN CONTRAST TO "PRAGMATIC" KISSINGER APPROACH LEADING FIRST TO INITIAL SONNENFELDT APPROACH AND THEN TO SUBSEQUENT DOCTRINE ENUNCIATING "NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS"), LEVI DID NOT SEE HOW A REPRESSIVE CLASH COULD BE AVOIDED IN EASTERN EUROPE. HE EMPHASIZED RECENT GROWTH IN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN "SOFT UNDERBELLY OF EUROPE" FROM IBERIAN TO HELLENISTIC PENINSULAS SHOULD BE BUILT UPON TO STRENGTHEN WEST EUROPEAN UNITY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WITHIN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND ALSO AT LEVEL OF UNIFIED WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT. DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH GREATER WEST EUROPEAN UNITY WOULD LEAD TO POSITIVE

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"EVOLUTION" OF WHAT IS NOW CALLED "EUROCOMMUNISM" AND  
"ABBERATION OF COMMUNIST EMILIA IN A PLACE THAT USED TO  
BE CALLED ITALY" WOULD BE PUT INTO PROPER PERSPECTIVE.

5. IN AN ASIDE, LEVI PREDICTED U.S. VISA POLICY VIS-A-VIS  
COMMUNISTS WOULD SOON BE EASED, "IT IS INEVITABLE" WITH  
CURRENT DIRECTIGS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. LEVI ADDED HE WISHED  
SUCH POLICY HAD BEEN INSTITUTED SOME YEARS AGO AS "WE IN  
ITALY WOULD ALL BE MUCH BETTER OFF NOW HAD 300 PCI MEMBERS  
GONE TO THE U.S. FIVE YEARS AGO." HE CITED LATE PIER  
PAOLO PASOLINI'S REVELATION AFTER FIRST VISIT TO U.S.  
THAT U.S. AND NOT USSR WAS REAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY  
OF THE WORLD."

6. COMMENT. LEVI EMPHASIZED THAT HIS OPINIONS WERE BASED  
ON CURRENT DIRECTION OF U.S. POLICY AND THE EVENTS HE FORE-  
SAW WOULD FOLLOW FROM THIS POLICY IN EUROPE. MORALLY  
AND PERSONALLY, ONE CERTAINLY SENSED LEVI WAS IN FAVOR  
OF THIS NEW U.S. POLICY, BUT HE ALSO WANTED TO ALERT HIS  
AUDIENCE TO THE RISKS INVOLVED AND AT THE SAME TIME  
HE PROVIDED A SENSE OF OPTIMISM AND CONFIDENCE THAT  
WESTERN EUROPE COULD MEET THE CHALLENGES THAT WOULD ARISE  
IN THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CURRENT U.S. POLICY.  
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## Message Attributes

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